1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

565 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva,
622 probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa
[164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, con-
554 stituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and
● 571 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesa OX

the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. 833 881 178 839 [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

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parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

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skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

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intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were